

# Weekly Report

*the authoritative reference on Congress*

WEEK ENDING OCT. 29, 1954

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## BIPARTISANSHIP

Most Senate Foreign Policy Votes  
Saw GOP, Democrats In Unison

### OF SPECIAL INTEREST :

INDIVIDUAL SCORES

WHAT CAN SENATE DO?

STANDS ON CENSURE

CAMPAIGN SPENDING

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## capitol quotes

### GALLOPING ELEPHANTS

**Blueprint for Socialism** -- "When we came to Washington on Jan. 20, 1953, in the files was a virtual blueprint for socializing America, including spending plans for adding \$40 billion to the national debt between 1952 and 1956. (Such a plan) would have led the nation straight down the road our British friends have taken -- to socialism. The Eisenhower Administration rejects socialism as an effective answer to our economic problems. A vote for a Republican Congress means rejection of the Truman-ADA socialist policies for once and for all." Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Oct. 20 speech.

**Crooked Side Streets** -- "The question before all of you -- Republican, Democrat or independent -- is very simple: Do we continue the Republican teamwork and leadership of the past 21 months, with its great record of legislative achievement for the good of all Americans? Or do we turn backward on the road to Trumanism, a road paved with high prices, high taxes, high costs of government, with crooked sidestreets cobbled with graft and corruption? It is essential that President Eisenhower continue with another Republican Congressional team if we are to keep on with honesty, integrity and efficiency in government in place of chiseling, graft and extravagance." GOP National Chairman Leonard W. Hall, in the November special election issue of the Republican National Committee publication, "Straight from the Shoulder."

**No Hiding Place** -- "No one can ever calculate the potential damage which could be done by one man armed with scientific knowledge of a high order and an easy conscience. We saw what Klaus Fuchs did with his inside information on the atomic bomb and his pipeline to the Kremlin. This one man endangered the well-being of 165,000,000 Americans and hundreds of other millions as well. Certainly, not all of the 6,926 'security risks' who were fired or who resigned in the one year from May, 1953, to June, 1954, ever had access to the kind of information entrusted to Fuchs, but, equally certain, they never had any business on a federal payroll. It is amazing that such people were able to get into government work. Our system of checkups under the Democrats must have been incredibly loose to tolerate such employment practices. Let them writhe, squirm, twist -- the Democrats must be held responsible." Rep. George H. Bender (R Ohio), Oct. 18 newsletter.

### DASHING DONKEYS

**Storm Warning** -- "I am deeply disturbed by reports that Democratic candidates and organization workers are relaxing their efforts in the belief that the election is in the bag. Well, it isn't...You can't win unless you get the voters to the polls and unless you get those votes counted honestly. I am deeply disturbed by reports of voter apathy and Democratic complacency. The two together could spell victory for the Republicans." Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell, Oct. 21 special bulletin to all Democratic candidates and election workers.

**Liberation Slogan** -- "We have witnessed two years of broken promises, of campaign pledges made to the people and completely neglected after election day. In the campaign of 1952 the national spokesmen of the Republican Party made a cynical pledge that they would liberate the enslaved millions behind the Iron Curtain. They momentarily kindled the hopes of millions on this side of the ocean who have relatives in those enslaved lands. Two years have passed and the slaves of the Kremlin are still in chains. No hand has been raised to free them. Indeed, I am sorry to say that the day of liberation is farther away than ever -- as a result of Republican policies in the world abroad. Instead of statemanship we have had diplomacy by slogan, by threat, by bluff and bluster." Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D N.Y.), Oct. 21 speech.

**Unemployment** -- "We, the Democratic Congressmen of Philadelphia, demand that you call a special session of Congress to deal with the unemployment problem. We cannot and will not subscribe to the 'bird-dog' philosophy that severe unemployment is inevitable and can be dealt with by the archaic law of supply and demand. Prompt action by Congress is needed and needed now. We see no necessity for waiting until next year before the Congress tackles the problem which threatens our entire economy. It is a libel upon the initiative of the Congress to declare that full employment can be achieved only in times of war. This is the most vicious piece of derisive propaganda ever put out by the Republican high command, and one that can be stopped in its tracks if you will honor the intent of this message." Text of telegram to President Eisenhower, released Oct. 22 by Rep. William J. Green, Jr. (D Pa.), on behalf of himself and three other Congressmen.

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# BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY

**Republicans, Democrats Agreed On 39 Of 54 Foreign Policy Roll Calls;**

**Sens. Carlson, Bowring and Burke Scored Highest; Langer Lowest**

How bipartisan was American foreign policy during the 83rd Congress? A Congressional Quarterly analysis of Senate foreign policy roll-call votes shows that Republicans and Democrats voted together much more often than they split along party lines. They agreed on 39 of the 54 roll calls.

Judged by that standard, the U.S. had a bipartisan foreign policy. But Democrats have complained since early in the Eisenhower Administration that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has recruited no Democrats for high-level jobs comparable to the posts Dulles held when Republicans were out of office.

Questioned on this point May 12, President Eisenhower noted that David K. E. Bruce, former Ambassador to France, has remained in Europe as U.S. Ambassador to the Coal and Steel Community.

In departments concerned with foreign policy, the Eisenhower Administration has appointed no Democrats to posts at the secretarial level. Democrats, on the other hand, appointed such Republicans as Robert A. Lovett, first to the State Department and then to the Defense Department; Paul G. Hoffman to the Economic Cooperation Administration; William C. Foster to ECA and the Defense Department; Henry L. Stimson to the War Department, and Frank Knox to the Navy Department.

### BRIEFINGS CRITICIZED

Democratic Members of Congress also contend that bipartisan White House briefings during the Eisenhower Administration have mostly been informative rather than advisory sessions. No Democrat, they say, has occupied the position in the Foreign

Policy field which Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R Mich.) held under the Democrats.

Democrats also question the reality of bipartisanship because, they say, few substantive foreign policy matters of major importance came to a vote during the 83rd Congress. They concede one exception was the Bricker amendment (S J Res 1) to curb treaty powers, which bore a Republican though not an Administration label. A large proportion of the foreign policy votes concerned the mutual aid program, which apparently was moving toward termination.

Such Republican concepts as Secretary Dulles' "massive retaliation" policy never went before Congress for a vote, unlike such Democratic innovations as the Marshall Plan and Greek-Turkish aid. Some observers contend, therefore, that the roll calls of the 83rd Congress did not constitute a meaningful test of the bipartisanship of U.S. foreign policy.

Meaningful or not, a broad measure of bipartisanship was reflected in the votes that were taken. CQ counted 54 Senate roll calls on foreign policy measures, including appropriations, during 1953-54. Analysis showed that bipartisanship prevailed 39 times; the majority of Republicans voting and the majority of Democrats voting agreed. Fifteen roll calls were partisan; the majority of voting Republicans disagreed with the majority of voting Democrats.

For purposes of computation, the Senate's independent, Wayne Morse (Ore.), was omitted from party line-ups but included in total votes on each roll call.

## SOME VOTES UNANIMOUS

In both 1953 and 1954, unanimity or near-unanimity prevailed on several votes.

In 1953, a resolution (S Res 84) condemning Soviet persecutions was adopted, 79-0. Two treaties obtained not only the required two-thirds majority but were ratified with only one dissent each. A third treaty was ratified unanimously.

In 1954, the Senate reiterated its opposition to seating Communist China in the UN, voting, 91-0, to amend the Mutual Security authorization (HR 9678) to that effect. A resolution (S Res 295) expressing the sense of the Senate that the President should take appropriate steps to restore sovereignty to Germany was adopted, 88-0.

A Senate concurrent resolution (S Con Res 91), reaffirming the Caracas Declaration of Solidarity and approving U.S. support of the Organization of American States in preventing interference in the Western Hemisphere by the international Communist movement, was adopted with but a single dissent.

An amendment by Sen. George A. Smathers (D Fla.) to the Mutual Security authorization (HR 9678), to add \$10 million for technical assistance in Latin America, was agreed to, 86-2. A reservation by Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.), providing that no amendment to the International Sugar Agreement would be binding on the United States unless ratified in the same manner as the original Agreement, also was agreed to with only two dissenting votes. The Agreement itself met a little more opposition. It was ratified, 60-16, in a bipartisan vote -- 38 Republicans and 21 Democrats teamed against five Republicans and 11 Democrats.

## TRADE AGREEMENTS VOTE

The 1954 one-year extension (HR 9474) of the (Reciprocal) Trade Agreements Act was passed with a heavy bipartisan majority, 71-3. But passage was preceded by a sharp partisan split on an amendment by Sen. Albert Gore (D Tenn.). Party regularity was evident on the Gore amendment, which would have extended the Act three years instead of one. Thirty-nine Republicans opposed the amendment; 32 Democrats supported it, while six voted with the Republicans.

An amendment by Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.) would have provided for Tariff Commission investigation whenever importation of any article tended to interfere materially with the farm parity price program, and would have authorized the President to impose fees or import quotas recommended by the Commission. Mundt's amendment was rejected, 23-52, on a bipartisan vote.

The International Copyright Convention was ratified, 65-3, but this vote was followed by a party-line split when Matthew M. Neely (D W. Va.) moved for reconsideration. Forty-one Republicans and 11 Democrats supported a motion by Majority Leader William F. Knowland (R Calif.) to table (kill) the Neely motion, thus upholding ratification. One Republican and 22 Democrats opposed Knowland's motion.

The Korean Mutual Defense Treaty was ratified on a bipartisan basis, 81-6.

In 1953, several treaties were ratified by bipartisan majorities, but with less overwhelming support. The German Debt Treaties were ratified en bloc, 46-16, by only four more votes than the necessary two-thirds. Twenty-nine Republicans and 17 Democrats voted "yea," while five Republicans and 10 Democrats voted "nay."

## DOUGLAS MOTION REJECTED

This roll call followed rejection of a motion by Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.) to recommit the treaties for further study. Douglas' motion was beaten by a combination of 35 Republicans and 16 Democrats. Three Republicans and 12 Democrats voted for recommitment.

The Status of Forces (NATO) Treaty was ratified 72-15, by a bipartisan combination of 37 Republicans and 35 Democrats, who were opposed by nine Republicans and six Democrats. Earlier, a treaty reservation by John W. Bricker (R Ohio) met bipartisan defeat. It would have provided for exclusive U.S. jurisdiction over U.S. forces or civilian components for crimes committed abroad, and would have established a reciprocal arrangement for forces of other nations stationed in the U.S. Bricker's reservation was rejected, 27-53, with 15 Republicans and 12 Democrats voting for it, and 27 Republicans and 26 Democrats opposed.

Three roll calls were taken on the Refugee Act of 1953. The bill (HR 6481) was passed, 63-30 -- supported by 38 Republicans and 24 Democrats, and opposed by eight Republicans and 22 Democrats. Previously, two amendments to the Senate bill (S 1917) were rejected. Irving M. Ives (R N.Y.), Homer Ferguson (R Mich.), Robert C. Hendrickson (R N.J.) and Wayne Morse (I Ore.) proposed including Italian nationals, as well as refugees in Italy, among those eligible for special-quota immigration visas. This amendment, rejected 29-62, was supported by 13 Republicans and 15 Democrats and opposed by 32 Republicans and 30 Democrats.

## JENNER AMENDMENT

An amendment by William E. Jenner (R Ind.), to permit the President to suspend or terminate issuance of visas upon a finding that other nations are not taking their "fair share" of refugees, was



rejected, 40-49. This was a partisan vote, on which 17 Republicans voted for and 26 against, while 23 Democrats voted for and 22 against.

A 1953 bipartisan vote, following prolonged hearings and bitter debate, confirmed, 74-13, President Eisenhower's nomination of Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia. Thirty-four Republicans and 39 Democrats supported the President; 11 Republicans and two Democrats voted against confirmation.

In number of Senate roll calls taken, at both the 1953 and 1954 sessions, foreign aid outranked all other foreign-policy issues. In 1953, seven roll calls were taken on the authorization bill (S 2128), and another seven on the appropriation bill (HR 6391). In 1954, nine votes were taken on the authorization bill (HR 9678), and one on the appropriation (HR 10051).

Of the seven roll calls on the authorization bill in 1953, four reflected partisan voting and three a bipartisan approach. (On one of the three bipartisan roll calls, Republicans divided 21-21.) Three of the roll calls were on amendments proposing various methods for using surplus agricultural commodities in connection with the foreign aid program. Two of these amendments were rejected, one by a partisan and one by a bipartisan vote.

The third, by John L. McClellan (D Ark.), called for acceptance of foreign currencies in exchange for surplus farm products in connection with conversion of military assistance funds. It was agreed to, 49-35, on a partisan vote, with 14 Republicans for and 29 against, and 35 Democrats for and five against.

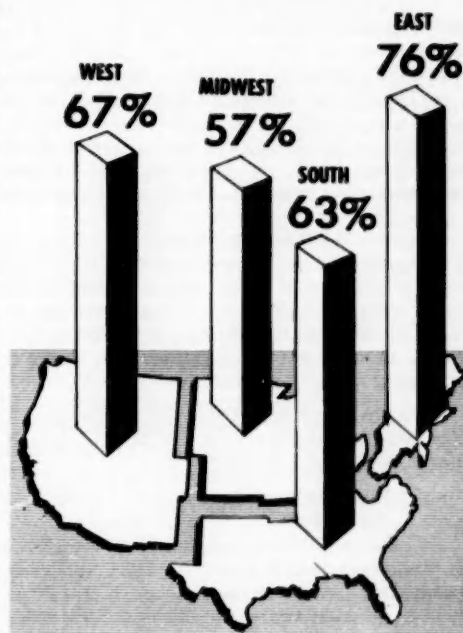
#### INDO-CHINESE INDEPENDENCE

An amendment by Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.), as modified by John F. Kennedy (D Mass.), would have required, as far as feasible, administration of funds and materials granted to the states of Indo-China in a manner to encourage their independence. The amendment was rejected, 17-64, on a bipartisan vote.

Three 1953 roll calls on the foreign aid authorization bill concerned efforts by Russell B. Long (D La.) to cut down the size of the authorization. On the first, a partisan vote, the Senate agreed to a motion by Francis Case (R S.D.) to table (kill) Long's motion to recommit the bill with instructions to cut the authorization by \$2 billion. Long's motion was tabled, 48-34, with 30 Republicans for and 12 against, and 18 Democrats for and 21 against.

A second roll call rejected, 34-48, Long's motion to recommit the bill with instructions that the authorization be reduced by \$1 billion. The Republicans split evenly, 21-21, while the Democrats opposed the recommitment motion, 13-26.

### Regional Bipartisanship In FOREIGN POLICY VOTES



Frequency with which Republicans, Democrats agreed on 54 Senate foreign policy votes during 83rd Congress. South's percentage based on 48 votes. Nationwide bipartisanship: 39 of 54—72 per cent.

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Long's third proposal, to recommit the bill with instructions to reduce the authorization to the House-approved figure of \$4,998,732,500, was rejected, 38-42, on a partisan vote. Twenty-two Republicans voted for recommitment and 17 against, in contrast to 16 Democrats for and 24 against.

#### APPROPRIATION AMENDMENTS

When the appropriation bill reached the Senate floor, Long again offered an amendment, this time to limit obligation of funds in fiscal 1954 to \$6,196,688,179. This amendment was rejected on a bipartisan basis, 35-53. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) offered a motion to suspend the rules in order to offer an amendment to reduce aid to any nation by the value of

goods shipped by that nation to Communist China before Chinese acceptance of a final Korean peace settlement. The motion, which required a two-thirds majority, was rejected, 34-50, with both parties in accord.

Two amendments to reduce Mutual Security Act aid -- one to cut military assistance to Europe by \$500 million, and the other to reduce European economic aid by \$71.8 million -- were offered by Allen J. Ellender, Sr. (D La.). They were rejected, 32-52 and 37-45, respectively, in bipartisan votes.

William E. Jenner (R Ind.) proposed to limit expenditures in fiscal 1954 to \$5.5 billion. The amendment was rejected, 33-49, on a bipartisan vote.

The only partisan vote on the MSA appropriation bill was taken on an amendment by Albert Gore (D Tenn.) to eliminate a \$50 million item for mutual special weapons planning. The amendment was rejected, 23-55, with two Republicans voting for and 37 against, in contrast to 21 Democrats voting for and 17 against.

Final passage of the bill, 69-10, found 31 Republicans and 37 Democrats in favor, nine Republicans and one Democrat against.

#### 1954 DEBATE

In 1954, a similarly stormy debate on foreign aid took place, but by contrast with 1953, most of it was concentrated on the authorization bill. There was only one roll call in the Senate on the appropriation.

Six of the nine roll calls on the authorization were bipartisan, while three reflected partisan splits. The amendment by Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.) to increase the portion of military aid funds to be disbursed in the form of loans, not grants, was rejected, 33-57, on a bipartisan basis.

Olin D. Johnston (D S.C.) offered an amendment to grant bonus amounts of farm surpluses to nations boosting their purchases above average. Bonus quantities would have been paid for from foreign aid funds. The amendment was rejected, 32-58, on a partisan vote, with six Republicans in favor and 42 opposed, as against 25 Democrats in favor and 16 opposed.

Two amendments were offered by George W. Malone (R Nev.). One, to eliminate the provision authorizing the President to use foreign aid funds to stimulate the development of strategic materials abroad, was agreed to, 49-40. It was a partisan vote, with 28 Republicans for and 18 against, and 20 Democrats for and 22 against. Malone's other amendment, to strike out the text of the bill providing foreign aid and substitute language authorizing nearly \$13.1 billion for construction of aircraft for the U.S. armed forces, was rejected, 7-81, on a bipartisan basis.

#### RED CHINA OPPOSED

As previously noted, the Committee amendment reiterating Congressional objection to the seating of Red China in the UN, and the Smathers amendment to provide additional technical assistance funds for Latin America, both were agreed to overwhelmingly with bipartisan approval.

The last two amendments offered before the vote for passage represented Sen. Long's 1954 efforts to scale down the foreign aid program. The first of these, to reduce the authorization by more than \$1 billion -- to a total of \$2.2 billion exclusive of unexpended balances -- was rejected, 38-48, on a bipartisan basis. Long's second amendment, for a reduction of \$500 million, was agreed to, 45-41, on a partisan vote that found 19 Republicans for and 25 opposed, as contrasted to 26 Democrats for and 15 opposed.

The vote for passage of the authorization was 67-19, with 29 Republicans and 37 Democrats in favor, and 15 Republicans and four Democrats opposed.

An amendment by the late Burnet R. Maybank (D S.C.) was agreed to on the only roll call taken on the foreign aid appropriation bill. Maybank proposed reduction of military aid funds by \$200 million. The Senate agreed, 41-34, on a partisan vote with 12 Republicans in favor and 26 opposed, and 29 Democrats in favor and seven opposed.

#### BRICKER AMENDMENT

In 1954, by far the most controversial foreign policy issue considered by the Senate was the Bricker amendment to curtail treaty powers. When John W. Bricker (R Ohio) introduced the measure (S J Res 1) Jan. 7, 1953, he had 62 co-sponsors. The addition of George A. Smathers (D Fla.) on Feb. 6, 1953, brought the number of sponsors to exactly the two-thirds majority required for Senate approval of a constitutional amendment if all Members are present and voting. Forty-five Republicans -- all but three of the Party's Senators -- were among the sponsors. Fewer than half -- 19 -- of the 47 Democratic Senators were co-sponsors. So bipartisanship was lacking from the beginning.

Among the eight roll calls taken on the measure, however, five found the majority of both parties voting together.

The first such instance was on an amendment by Homer Ferguson (R Mich.) to provide that a provision of an international agreement, as well as of a treaty, which conflicts with the Constitution shall be without force or effect. This amendment was agreed to, 62-20, with 36 Republicans and 26 Democrats for it, and two Republicans and 17 Democrats against.

The second bipartisan vote was on Sen. Knowland's amendment to require Senate consent to treaties to be by yea-and-nay roll-call vote. This amendment was agreed to, 72-16, with 40 Republicans and 32 Democrats for, and one Republican and 14 Democrats against.

#### FERGUSON PROPOSAL

Ferguson proposed to delete the controversial "which" clause: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." This amendment was agreed to by a one-vote margin, 44-43, on a partisan roll call. Of the 42 Republicans voting, 38 approved the amendment and only four were opposed; of the 45 Democrats voting, 39 were against the amendment and only six approved it.

Party lines were drawn even more sharply on a motion by Minority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Tex.) to adjourn rather than have a night session. The motion was agreed to, 48-45. All Democrats voted for it, and all but one Republican voted against it.

The Senate rejected Bricker's compromise amendment on a 42-50 partisan roll call. Republicans supported the amendment, 29-17, while Democrats opposed it, 13-32. Bricker would have required Congressional legislation to implement treaties and other international agreements internally, unless the Senate, in consenting to ratification, should waive the requirement by two-thirds vote.

Bipartisanship manifested itself again, however, when 45 Republicans and 29 Democrats combined against one Republican and 16 Democrats to reject, 18-74, a motion by Wayne Morse (I Ore.) to recommit the measure.

#### GEORGE SUBSTITUTE

Walter F. George (D Ga.) proposed a substitute which would have provided that: Any provision of a treaty or international agreement in conflict with the Constitution shall be invalid; non-treaty agreements may not take effect as internal law unless implemented by Congressional action; and Senate consent to ratification of treaties must be by roll-call vote. This substitute amendment was agreed to, 61-30, in a bipartisan vote with 30 Republicans and 31 Democrats teamed against 16 Republicans and 13 Democrats.

When the George substitute for the Bricker amendment was put to a final vote Feb. 26, it failed of passage by a one-vote margin. A two-thirds majority -- 61 affirmative votes -- was required. On a bipartisan roll call, 32 Republicans and 28

### Looking Ahead

Three of the biggest issues decided by the 83rd Congress will turn up again in the 84th: Reciprocal trade, Bricker amendment, and foreign aid.

Several treaties -- none of them of major importance -- were placed on the docket in 1954 and await Senate action.

And the treaty which emerges from the London Agreement probably will go before the Senate for ratification -- perhaps leading to debate on such questions as German rearmament and U.S. commitments of troops abroad.

Democrats voted "yea," while 14 Republicans and 16 Democrats voted "nay." So the measure was rejected, 60-31.

### Highs And Lows

There was considerable variation in the extent to which individual Senators supported the bipartisan approach to foreign policy. CQ checked the votes of Senators on the 39 foreign policy roll calls of 1953-54 which found the majorities of both parties voting in agreement. Percentages were calculated to determine how consistently -- when he voted -- each Senator agreed with the bipartisan majority on these 39 roll calls. Only actual votes -- not pairs or other announcements -- were counted. Roll calls on which a Senator did not vote were excluded as "times at bat." (For individual scores, see CQ Weekly Report, p. 1315.)

#### Senators with the highest scores:

GOP		Democrats	
Carlson (Kan.)	100%	Burke (Ohio)	100%
Bowring (Neb.)	100	Holland (Fla.)	97
Knowland (Calif.)	97	George (Ga.)	96
Kuchel (Calif.)	97	Kerr (Okla.)	96
Millikin (Colo.)	97		
Payne (Maine)	97		

#### Senators with the lowest scores:

GOP		Democrats	
Langer (N.D.)	42%	Johnston (S.C.)	54%
Malone (Nev.)	44	Long (La.)	59
Welker (Idaho)	49	Lennon (N.C.)	61
McCarthy (Wis.)	52	Johnson (Colo.)	63
Bricker (Ohio)	53	McClellan (Ark.)	66

Regionalism has always been a major factor in American politics, outstandingly in foreign policy. A CQ analysis of Senate votes on foreign policy issues shows the extent to which some new geographic alignments were noticeable in 1953-54. (See Fact Sheet, CQ Weekly Report, p. 1314.)

While the membership of the Senate during the 83rd Congress was so evenly divided that the Republican Party had only nominal control, the Senatorial representation of the four main regions of the country was by no means in such close balance.

The party and regional line-up when Congress adjourned Aug. 20:

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrats</u>
East (12 states)	17	7
South (13 states)	1	25
Midwest (12 states)	18	6
West (11 states)	12	9

Independent Wayne Morse (Ore.) fits into the "West" grouping.

In two states, Ohio and Wyoming, deaths caused changes in party representation. Ohio began the 83rd Congress with two Republican Senators and ended with a Senator from each party. Wyoming began with divided representation and wound up with two Republicans.

During the 1953 session, 26 roll-call votes were taken in the Senate on foreign policy issues. Twenty-eight more were taken during the 1954 session, for a total of 54 roll calls on which to test regional sentiment.

On 29 of the 54 roll calls, the majority of Senators from each of the four regions voted in agreement. On the other 25 roll calls, the regions split, some delivering a majority of "yeas," others voting "nay."

On 16 of the 29 regionally solid roll calls, there was bipartisan agreement within all four regions. The majority of Republicans voted on the same side as the majority of Democrats. (Included in this group of 16 roll calls was one on which the Democrats were evenly divided while the Republicans voted with the nationwide majority. And there were three cases when the South's only Republican did not vote but the majority of Southern Democrats voted with the nationwide majority.)

#### FOUR UNANIMOUS VOTES

Four of the 16 bipartisan votes were unanimous. In 1953, the Senate voted unanimously for condemnation of Soviet persecutions (S Res 84), and ratification of a convention with Canada for preservation of the halibut fishery area. In 1954, there were unanimous votes for keeping Communist China out of the UN (amendment to HR 9678, the Mutual Security authorization), and Presidential action to restore German sovereignty (S Res 295).

Two 1953 treaties were ratified with only one dissent each: Extension of the International Sugar

Agreement, and a group of eight treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation. In 1954, there was only one dissent when the Senate adopted a measure (S Con Res 91) reaffirming support for the Caracas Declaration of Solidarity and recommending support for the Organization of American States in action to prevent interference in the Western Hemisphere by the international Communist movement.

The regions varied considerably in the degree to which the parties voted in agreement. In the East, the majority of Republicans and Democrats voted together 41 times and split on a partisan basis 13 times.

#### WEST RANKS SECOND

Ranking next in bipartisanship was the West, with 36 bipartisan votes as against 18 partisan roll calls.

In the South, partisanship was noticeable as John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.) voted against his Democratic colleagues 18 times. He voted with the South's Democrats 30 times, and did not vote on six foreign policy roll calls.

The greatest degree of difference between the parties appeared in the Midwest, where the Republican and Democratic majorities disagreed 23 times while voting together 31 times.

In all regions, the parties voted together more often than they voted against each other.

There were 25 votes in which the regions disagreed. In 16 of these, one region stood alone against the others. The South, the only region with a Democratic majority in its Senatorial delegation, was the most frequent holdout, standing alone 11 times. The East broke ranks four times, the West once. The Midwest never found itself without at least one voting partner.

#### SOUTH SOLO STANDS

In 1953, the South stood alone in support of an amendment by Russell B. Long (D La.) to limit to \$6.2 billion the obligation of funds by the Mutual Security Agency in 1954, and for an amendment by William E. Jenner (R Ind.) to limit MSA expenditures to \$5.5 billion in fiscal 1954. The South was the only region against a motion by Francis Case (R S.D.) to table (kill) Long's motion to recommit the Mutual Security bill with instructions to reduce the authorization by \$2 billion. The South also held out alone for a restrictive amendment and against passage of the Refugee Act of 1953.

In 1954, the South's solitary opposition was registered: On two votes on the Bricker amendment in support of an effort by Albert Gore (D Tenn.) to



extend the (Reciprocal) Trade Agreements Act for three years instead of one; in a vote to uphold a motion by Matthew M. Neely (D W. Va.) to reconsider ratification of the International Copyright Convention; for an amendment to the Mutual Security authorization for 1955 by Olin D. Johnston (D S.C.) to use foreign aid funds to help move surplus agricultural commodities; and for an amendment by Long to reduce the over-all Mutual Security authorization.

#### EASTERN OPPOSITION

The East alone opposed: A proposal by John L. McClellan (D Ark.) in 1953 to help move agricultural surpluses through conversion of currencies connected with military assistance funds; the substitute offered by Walter F. George (D Ga.) to the Bricker amendment; and the Bricker amendment as finally presented for a vote. The East held out for an amendment to the 1953 Refugee Act which would have permitted Italian nationals as well as refugees in Italy to enter the U.S. under special quotas.

The only holdout by the West against the other regions was in support of a 1954 amendment by Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.) to increase the portion of MSA non-military funds to be made available as loans, not grants.

Among favorite regional voting partners, new alignments showed up this Congress. Not infrequently in the past, the attitudes of the two seacoasts on foreign affairs were in close agreement, favoring more international cooperation. This general policy was lined up against the point of view of the central section of the country, which favored a more nationalist or isolationist line. During this Congress, analysis showed a different pattern.

The East's favorite voting partner was the Midwest. These two regions voted together on 43 of the 54 foreign policy roll calls. Eastern Senators paired with the West 40 times, and with the South 37 times.

These figures include the 29 roll calls on which all four regions agreed. Excluding these 29 roll calls -- counting only the 25 votes on which the regions disagreed -- CQ found that the East paired with the Midwest 14 times, with the West 11 times, and with the South eight times.

#### INDIVIDUALISTIC SOUTH

The South took partners fewer times than the other regions, voting with the East on 37 of the 54 roll calls, with the West on 35, and with the Midwest on 33. If the tabulation is confined to the 25 roll calls on which the regions split, the South voted with the East eight times, with the West six times, and with the Midwest four times.

The major regional alliance paired the Midwest and the West. These two regions voted together 50 times -- including 21 of the roll calls on which the regions disagreed. The Midwest was in the same column as the East 43 times, and with the South 33 times. The West joined with the East 40 times, and with the South on 35 of the 54 foreign policy roll calls.

On one of the 25 roll calls which divided the regions, the Midwest's vote was split evenly, 11-11. This roll call was dropped from tabulations of the Midwest's pairings with other regions. For example, the Midwest agreed with the West on 21 of the 25 roll calls which divided the four regions, and voted contrary to the West on three.

In 1953, the West and Midwest agreed on all foreign policy roll calls. In 1954, they disagreed on three foreign aid votes. The West voted for and the Midwest voted against the Capehart amendment to disburse more non-military aid as loans rather than grants; the Long amendment to cut the over-all authorization by \$500 million and the Maybank amendment to reduce military aid appropriations by \$200 million.



## Bipartisanship In Foreign Policy

TABLE I

### Regional Breakdown

EAST: Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia.

SOUTH: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

MIDWEST: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

WEST: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

TABLE II

### Regional Bipartisanship

Listed below are regional scores for bipartisanship on foreign policy roll calls during the 83rd Congress. Scores show the percentage of times -- when they voted -- that Senators from a region voted in agreement with the bipartisan majority.

Scores are based on the 39 foreign policy roll calls on which the majorities of both parties -- on a nationwide basis -- voted in agreement. Failures to vote were not counted as "times at bat."

	EAST	SOUTH	MIDWEST	WEST
REPUBLICANS	88%	85%	75%	75%
DEMOCRATS	75	79	83	79

Nationwide, Republicans averaged 80 per cent, Democrats 79 per cent.

The South's Republican score is based on only one Senator.

TABLE III

### Regional Party Delegations

	GOP MAJORITY		DEM. MAJORITY	
	1 GOP	2 Dem.	3 Dem.	4 GOP
EAST	17	7	--	--
SOUTH	--	--	25	1
MIDWEST	18	6	--	--
WEST	12	9	--	--

NOTE: Above breakdowns prevailed when Congress adjourned Aug. 20. There had been some fluctuations, but the South was at all times the only region with a Democratic majority.

TABLE IV

### Intra-Regional Unity, Splits

COL. 1 -- Number of 1953-54 foreign policy roll calls on which majority of both parties from region voted in agreement.

COL. 2 -- Percentage of the 54 foreign policy roll calls on which majority of both parties from region voted in agreement.

COL. 3 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Republicans from region voted in disagreement with majority of Democrats.

COL. 4 -- Percentage of the 54 foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Republicans voted in disagreement with majority of Democrats.

	1	2	3	4
EAST	41	76%	13	24%
SOUTH	30	63	18	38
MIDWEST	31	57	23	42
WEST	36	67	18	33

NOTE: Roll calls on which one party was equally divided between "yeas" and "nays" were counted in the bipartisan agreement classification, Columns 1 and 2. Six roll calls on which the South's only Republican, John Sherman Cooper (Ky.), did not vote were excluded.

TABLE V

### Inter-Regional "Partners"

COL. 1 -- Number of 1953-54 foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region stood alone, voting in disagreement with majorities of all other regions.

COL. 2 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region voted in agreement with majority from one or more other regions.

COL. 3 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region voted in agreement with majority of Senators from EAST.

COL. 4 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region voted in agreement with majority from SOUTH.

COL. 5 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region voted in agreement with majority from MIDWEST.

COL. 6 -- Number of foreign policy roll calls on which majority of Senators from region voted in agreement with majority from WEST.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
EAST	4	50	--	37	43	40
SOUTH	11	43	37	--	33	35
MIDWEST	0	53	43	33	--	50
WEST	1	53	40	35	50	--

NOTE: On one roll call, the Midwest's vote was evenly divided between "yeas" and "nays," 11-11. This roll call was dropped from tabulations of the Midwest's pairings with other regions.

# Bipartisan Roll Calls On Foreign Policy

1. Number of times Senator voted on the 39 foreign-policy roll calls of 1953-54 on which the majorities of both parties -- on a nationwide basis -- voted in agreement.
2. Number of times Senator voted in agreement with the bipartisan majority on the 39 bipartisan foreign-policy roll calls.
3. Percentage of time -- when he voted -- that Senator voted in agreement with the bipartisan majority. (Bipartisan foreign-policy roll calls on which Senator did not vote are excluded as "times at bat.")

	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3
<b>ALABAMA</b>			%	<b>MAINE</b>			%	<b>OHIO</b>			%
Hill (D)	35	29	83	Payne (R)	39	38	97	Bricker (R)	34	18	53
Sparkman (D)	33	29	88	Smith (R)	39	35	90	Burke (D)	15	15	100
<b>ARIZONA</b>				<b>MARYLAND</b>				<b>OKLAHOMA</b>			
Goldwater (R)	33	20	61	Beall (R)	33	28	85	Kerr (D)	26	25	96
Hayden (D)	36	30	83	Butler (R)	33	26	79	Monroney (D)	35	28	80
<b>ARKANSAS</b>				<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>				<b>OREGON</b>			
Fulbright (D)	28	22	79	Kennedy (D)	30	21	70	Cordon (R)	30	28	93
McClellan (D)	29	19	66	Saltonstall (R)	39	35	90	Morse (I)	33	20	61
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>				<b>MICHIGAN</b>				<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>			
Knowland (R)	39	38	97	Ferguson (R)	38	33	87	Duff (R)	29	26	90
Kuchel (R)	33	32	97	Potter (R)	38	33	87	Martin (R)	38	32	84
<b>COLORADO</b>				<b>MINNESOTA</b>				<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>			
Johnson (D)	38	24	63	Humphrey (D)	34	27	79	Green (D)	39	32	82
Millikin (R)	33	32	97	Thye (R)	39	35	90	Pastore (D)	37	27	73
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>				<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>				<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>			
Bush (R)	34	31	91	Eastland (D)	25	21	84	Johnston (D)	39	21	54
Purtell (R)	37	33	89	Stennis (D)	34	23	68	Vacancy	--	--	--
<b>DELAWARE</b>				<b>MISSOURI</b>				<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>			
Frear (D)	32	23	72	Hennings (D)	34	29	85	Case (R)	38	30	79
Williams (R)	37	24	65	Symington (D)	31	28	90	Mundt (R)	37	26	70
<b>FLORIDA</b>				<b>MONTANA</b>				<b>TENNESSEE</b>			
Holland (D)	39	38	97	Mansfield (D)	34	31	91	Gore (D)	38	30	79
Smathers (D)	33	24	73	Murray (D)	37	29	78	Kefauver (D)	22	19	86
<b>GEORGIA</b>				<b>NEBRASKA</b>				<b>TEXAS</b>			
George (D)	27	26	96	Reynolds (R)	7	4	57	Daniel (D)	31	24	77
Russell (D)	28	20	71	Bowring (R)	13	13	100	Johnson (D)	39	37	95
<b>IDAHOO</b>				<b>NEVADA</b>				<b>UTAH</b>			
Dworshak (R)	39	21	54	Malone (R)	36	16	44	Bennett (R)	39	33	85
Welker (R)	35	17	49	Vacancy	--	--	--	Watkins (R)	33	26	79
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>				<b>VERMONT</b>			
Dirksen (R)	38	32	84	Bridges (R)	30	27	90	Aiken (R)	38	36	95
Douglas (D)	37	27	73	Upton (R)	19	17	89	Flanders (R)	25	24	96
<b>INDIANA</b>				<b>NEW JERSEY</b>				<b>VIRGINIA</b>			
Capehart (R)	26	16	62	Hendrickson (R)	39	34	87	Byrd (D)	27	18	67
Jenner (R)	29	16	55	Smith (R)	39	36	92	Robertson (D)	38	36	95
<b>IOWA</b>				<b>NEW MEXICO</b>				<b>WASHINGTON</b>			
Gillette (D)	24	19	79	Anderson (D)	37	30	81	Jackson (D)	38	29	76
Hickenlooper (R)	39	34	87	Chavez (D)	21	20	95	Magnuson (D)	38	25	69
<b>KANSAS</b>				<b>NEW YORK</b>				<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>			
Carlson (R)	38	38	100	Ives (R)	32	29	91	Kilgore (D)	29	20	69
Schoeppel (R)	30	21	70	Lehman (D)	29	22	76	Neely (D)	32	27	84
<b>KENTUCKY</b>				<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>				<b>WISCONSIN</b>			
Clements (D)	36	34	94	Ervin (D)	6	4	67	McCarthy (R)	25	13	52
Cooper (R)	34	29	85	Lennon (D)	23	14	61	Wiley (R)	30	27	90
<b>LOUISIANA</b>				<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				<b>WYOMING</b>			
Ellender (D)	39	31	79	Langer (R)	31	13	42	Barrett (R)	38	28	74
Long (D)	39	23	59	Young (R)	34	20	59	Crippa (R)	7	5	71

## Censure On Docket...

### BUT SENATE SESSION MAY TAKE UP OTHER BUSINESS

When the Senate returns to Washington Nov. 8, its attention will be focused on the censure charges against Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.). But before final adjournment, Senators may considerably broaden the scope of their activities.

According to the report of the Select Committee which studied the charges against McCarthy, one or more resolutions may be considered to give effect to its recommendations. (For Committee's report, see CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1241 ff.; for individual censure stands, see p. 1318.) Parliamentary experts say the Senate, if it has a mind to, may also consider:

**Simple Resolutions** -- Ten, covering such subjects as auto bootlegging and limits on Senate debate, were pending when the Senate recessed Aug. 20. In addition, the censure Committee has recommended adoption of a resolution creating a "Code for Probes." (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1243.)

**Treaties** -- Of those submitted during the 83rd Congress, seven were pending. The Southeast Asia Defense Treaty and the Paris Agreements for rearming West Germany to date have not been submitted to the Senate. (See CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1165, 1324.)

**Presidential Nominations** -- Mr. Eisenhower had made 164 recess appointments as of Oct. 19. The Senate might also be called on to confirm appointment of a successor to the late Supreme Court Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, if the President fills the vacancy while the Senate is in session. Some 696 nominations -- for promotions in the armed services, judgeships, postmasters and other positions -- had not been confirmed or rejected when the Senate recessed; the President must resubmit these names if he wants Senate action on them.

#### LEGISLATIVE ACTION BANNED

Custom, practice and rules interpretation prohibit the Senate from taking "legislative action" -- that is, action on bills, joint resolutions or concurrent resolutions requiring approval by the House of Representatives -- since the House will not be in session. (For details on resolutions, treaties and nominations that may be acted on, see fact sheet, CQ Weekly Report, p. 1317.)

Senate Majority Leader William F. Knowland (R Calif.) is known to favor a relatively short session confined to the censure issue. He said Oct. 9 he and Minority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Tex.) had informally agreed that no legislative matters would be taken up. Knowland said there is "no necessity nor desire" to take up ratification of either the German rearmament pact or the Southeast Asia Treaty. He also predicted the session would run only one or two weeks. One of the majority leader's aides told Congressional Quarterly he believes Knowland would oppose consideration of resolutions, treaties or nominations.

The fact is, however, that the Senate makes its own rules and can do virtually what it pleases. Sen. Mike

Mansfield (D Mont.), a signer of the Asian treaty, said Oct. 11 he hoped it would be brought up for ratification. And Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.) said the Senate may spend 30 days on censure debate.

Despite the fact that the Senate will convene following the election, lawmakers may be drawn into debate on farm or foreign policy, federal housing irregularities, drought in the Southwest, the proposed Dixon-Yates contract to supply private power in the Tennessee Valley Authority area, or other political issues. Conceivably, the Senate could act on resolutions pertaining to at least a couple of these topics.

#### PENDING RESOLUTIONS

One of the 10 pending resolutions would authorize payment to the Government Operations Committee for the cost of the Army-McCarthy hearings, conducted by its Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. (For Subcommittee report on hearings, see CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1141 ff.) An amendment to this pending resolution would require the Committee to comply with new rules before it could get money for its investigations.

Two pending resolutions would change the Senate's cloture rule to make it easier to limit debate. Another resolution would ask the Secretary of Agriculture to speed up relief to farmers and cattlemen in drought-stricken areas. Others would call for investigation of auto bootlegging and manufacturer-dealer relations in the car industry and a study of antitrust laws.

The censure Committee, in its report, proposed a rules change aimed at tightening Congressional investigative procedure. The Committee recommended that its amendment be approved by the Senate "to be effective Jan. 3, 1955."

#### TREATIES CAN WAIT

Four of the seven treaties submitted by President Eisenhower concern tax collections. Two are international agreements, and one would give the UN powers now exercised by the League of Nations. Consideration of all seven could be delayed until the 84th Congress, since they do not require immediate attention. Treaties do not die at the end of the Congress in which they were submitted; many submitted in previous years are still pending. For example, some 25 treaties, submitted but not acted on between 1946 and 1952, are on the Senate calendar.

The Paris agreement for rearming West Germany and admitting her to the European defense system, said State Department experts, probably will require some Senate action. They were unable to say, however, whether the pact would be presented for Senate ratification in November or when the 84th Congress meets in January.

The Southeast Asia Defense Treaty has been signed, and unless mechanical adjustments still to be made interfere, the pact would be in shape for submission to the Senate at the November meeting, if the State Department wants immediate action on it.

## RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AWAIT SENATE ACTION

The following resolutions not connected with censure had been reported and were pending on the Senate Calendar when the upper chamber recessed Aug. 20:

S Res 20 -- Introduced by Sen. William E. Jenner (R Ind.) -- To amend Senate rules so that two-thirds of those voting could enforce cloture (limit debate).

S Res 207 -- Guy M. Gillette (D Iowa) and Carl Hayden (D Ariz.) -- To require a "yea" and "nay" vote on ratification of treaties.

S Res 288 -- Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.) -- To make available to the Committee on Government Operations or its Permanent Investigations Subcommittee \$24,605.67, the cost of the Army-McCarthy hearings. An amendment proposed by Sen. Hayden would compel the Committee or Subcommittee to comply with new rules before it could get money for probes.

S Res 310 -- John W. Bricker (R Ohio) -- To investigate auto-bootlegging and manufacturer-dealer relationships in the auto industry.

S Res 14 -- The late Pat McCarran (D Nev.) -- To study anti-trust laws, their administration, interpretation and effect.

S Res 144 -- Herbert H. Lehman (D N.Y.) -- To require a "yea" and "nay" vote on joint resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution.

S Res 57 -- Gillette -- to amend Senate rules to require a one-day delay before a Senator can move to table a motion to reconsider.

S Res 286 -- William Langer (R N.D.) -- To refer a private bill to the U.S. Court of Claims.

Resolutions which were not referred to committee, but according to Senate rules could be called up, include:

S Res 322 -- Robert S. Kerr (D Okla.) -- To express the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of Agriculture should rapidly furnish relief to farmers and stockmen in drought-stricken areas.

S Res 291 -- Wayne Morse (I Ore.) -- To amend Senate rules so that a majority of those voting could enforce cloture.

The following seven treaties are pending and could be taken up when the Senate reconvenes:

Executive D, second session, 83rd Congress -- Convention between the U.S. and Japan to avoid double taxation and prevent evasion of income taxes.

Executive E, second session, 83rd -- Convention between the U.S. and Japan to avoid double taxation and prevent evasion of estate, inheritance and gift taxes.

Executive Q, first session, 83rd -- International convention to facilitate importation of commercial samples and advertising material.

Executive R, first session, 83rd -- International telecommunication convention and final protocol.

Executive F, second session, 83rd -- Protocol amending the Geneva anti-slavery convention of Sept. 25, 1926, transferring to the UN powers exercised by the League of Nations.

Executive G, second session, 83rd -- Convention between the U.S. and Belgium to avoid double taxation and prevent evasion of estate and succession taxes.

Executive I, second session, 83rd -- A notification with regard to extending to the Netherlands Antilles a convention between the U.S. and Netherlands on income and other taxes.

Some 696 nominations -- for postmasters, promotion in the armed forces, judgeships and other civilian offices which the Senate had not acted on before the recess -- were disposed of in line with a rule which says the Senate must return all pending nominations to the President when it adjourns or recesses for more than 30 days. The President must resubmit the nominations if he wants them considered in November.

The President had made 164 recess appointments, as of Oct. 19. Although the Constitution provides (Art. II, Sect. 2, par. 3) that the President may grant "commissions (appointments) which shall expire at the end of (the) next session" to fill vacancies that occur during Senate recess, Bernard M. Shanley, Counsel to the President, told CQ there is some doubt as to how the November session will affect these appointments. The White House has asked the Attorney General for an opinion on the matter, Shanley said.

## FIVE "LAME DUCK" SESSIONS HELD SINCE 1933

"Lame-Duck" Amendment is the name given the Constitution's 20th amendment, which became effective Feb. 8, 1933. The Amendment made Congressmen's terms begin Jan. 3, instead of March 4, and required Congress to meet Jan. 3, instead of in December. It was

designed to abolish the "lame-duck" session -- so-called because it included members defeated (the "lame ducks") before the old "short" session began in December of even-numbered years. Since 1933, five lame duck sessions have been held.

Congress	Session	Election Date	Recessed	Adjourned	Number of Lame Duck Days
81st	2nd	Nov. 7, 1950	Sept. 23 - Nov. 27	Jan. 2, 1951	37
80th	2nd	Nov. 2, 1948	Aug. 7 - Dec. 31	Dec. 31, 1948	1*
78th	2nd	Nov. 7, 1944	Sept. 21 - Nov. 14	Dec. 19, 1944	36
77th	2nd	Nov. 3, 1942	**	Dec. 16, 1942	43
76th	3rd	Nov. 5, 1940	**	Jan. 3, 1941	59

\*Met for only 1½ hours. \*\*Met continuously.



## CENSURE QUOTES

Mixed reactions greeted the recommendation of a Senate Select Committee that Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) be censured. (See CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1241 ff.). The report was released Sept. 27 at the height of the mid-term election campaign. The Senate reconvenes Nov. 8 to act on the Committee's report.

Sen. McCarthy Oct. 26 accused Select Committee Chairman Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah) and two unnamed members of "prejudice" against him. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1326.). Comments of other lawmakers may give an indication of how they will vote on the censure question.

Sen. Styles Bridges (R N.H.) commented: "The censuring of a United States Senator is a very serious matter. We must be extremely careful not to establish a precedent that will limit the effective action of any of our members in one of the last great forums of free speech in the world."

Sen. Wayne Morse (I Ore.) said the report "has left no room for doubt about the fact that McCarthy has conducted himself in a manner unbecoming a Senator."

Sen. Frank A. Barrett (R Wyo.) said he doesn't believe the Committee found "sufficient ground" for censure. "I do not agree with the theory of censuring Senators except for grave reasons," he added.

Sen. Theodore F. Green (D R.I.) said: "I am in favor of ratifying the Committee's recommendations unless and until I hear convincing arguments for some other course of action."

Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) criticized the report for "toying with the whole fabric of immunity and freedom which Members of Congress enjoy as a Constitutional right."

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D N.Y.) said "it is now clear that Sen. McCarthy should not only be censured but should be removed immediately from his Chairmanship of Senatorial committees."

Sen. Herman Welker (R Idaho) said he would vote "emphatically no" on the censure question because he "unhesitatingly" disagreed with censure recommendations based on the Zwicker episode and McCarthy's failure to appear before a Senate elections subcommittee.

Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D Va.) said the evidence "seems to show incontrovertibly that the Senator from Wisconsin adopted a contemptuous, contumacious, attitude toward a duly constituted committee of the Senate without reason or justification and was thereby obstructive to legislative processes."

Sen. Francis Case (R S.D.), a member of the censure Committee, said: "I think that a consideration of the evidence will lead Senators, generally speaking, to the same conclusion the special Committee reached."

Sen. William E. Jenner (R Ind.) said "the Senate must first consider the question which should have been raised when the Committee was established: Shall any Member of the United States Senate be required to stand before the bar of public opinion and defend himself against charges which can be found in the Communist program to destroy the Senate?"

Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R Vt.) said he thought the Committee did a "good job. The fact that the investigation was done in a completely judicial atmosphere lends

## How Will They Vote?

The report recommending censure for Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) was prepared and approved unanimously by a six-man Senate Select Committee. Since the report was released, about one third of the Senators have commented on it or announced how they will vote on its recommendations.

On an Aug. 2 roll call on a motion to send the censure resolution to committee, 12 Senators were opposed and A. S. Mike Monroney (D Okla.) said the action meant "indefinite postponement." The 12:

Hill (D Ala.)	Lehman (D N.Y.)
Fulbright (D Ark.)	Monroney (D Okla.)
Douglas (D Ill.)	Magnuson (D Wash.)
Humphrey (D Minn.)	Cooper (R Ky.)
Hennings (D Mo.)	Duff (R Pa.)
Chavez (D N.M.)	Flanders (R Vt.)

Members of the censure Committee, who presumably endorse the report and its recommendations:

Watkins (R Utah)	Johnson (D Colo.)
Carlson (R Kan.)	Ervin (D N.C.)
Case (R S.D.)	Stennis (D Miss.)

Three Senators said they will vote for censure: Robertson (D Va.) Burke (D Ohio) Smathers (D Fla.)

Six Senators, other than Committee members, have commended the report, and are apparently inclined, but not committed, to vote for censure:

Green (D R.I.)	Lehman (D N.Y.)
Hill (D Ala.)	Morse (I Ore.)
Jackson (D Wash.)	Flanders (R Vt.)
Pastore (D R.I.)	

Six praised the work of the Committee and its membership, but did not say how they will vote:

Monroney (D Okla.)	Murray (D Mont.)
McClellan (D Ark.)	Chavez (D N.M.)
Holland (D Fla.)	Young (R N.D.)

Three Senators, all Republicans, said they would vote against censure:

Capehart (Ind.)	Dirksen (Ill.)
Welker (Idaho)	

Two Senators, both Republicans, denounced the report and are apparently inclined, but not committed, to vote against censure:

Crippa (Wyo.)	Barrett (Wyo.)
Jenner (Ind.)	

more strength to the charges that were sustained than if all charges had been sustained after hearings carried on in a flamboyant atmosphere."

Sen. John O. Pastore (D R.I.) said "it would take strong convincing to dissuade me from supporting the unanimous recommendations of the ... Committee."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.) said the "high caliber" of the Committee would indicate its "report, findings and recommendations will carry great weight in the final action taken by the Senate."





## pressures on congress

### LOBBYIST REGISTRATIONS

#### Individuals

Registrant. PRESTON B. BERGIN, 1001 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Filed 10/13/54.

Employer. District of Columbia Business Practices Council, 1031 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Legislative Interest. All legislation affecting businessmen in the District of Columbia including fair-trade legislation for the District of Columbia.

Compensation. None listed.

Registration. JAMES F. FORT, assistant to the general counsel, American Trucking Association, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Filed 10/12/54.

Employer. American Trucking Association, Inc., 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Legislative Interest. All bills, resolutions and investigations affecting the trucking industry.

Expenses. Anticipated to be \$75 quarterly.

Compensation. \$225 monthly.

Registrant. JOHN A. GOSNELL, staff attorney, Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1625 I St., N.W., Washington, D. C. Filed 10/13/54.

Employer. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1625 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Legislative Interest. General interest in legislation affecting the chemical industry, such as foreign trade tariff, taxes, pollution abatement, atomic energy, transportation, food, drug and cosmetic matters, renegotiation stockpiling, scientific manpower, industrial alcohol, emergency defense legislation.

Expenses. Estimated at \$50 for 3rd quarter, primarily taxi fares paid by association.

Compensation. Estimated part of annual compensation allocated to legislative activities, \$5,000.

#### Law And Public Relations

Registrant. PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON AND GARRISON, 1614 I St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Filed 10/13/54.

Employer. S. Gumbel Realty and Security Co., Inc., New Orleans, La.

Legislative Interest. To obtain change in sections of Internal Revenue Code dealing with corporate liquidations.

Expenses. Nominal disbursements for out-of-pocket expenses only.

Compensation. Indeterminate.

#### PRESSURE POINTS

Voting. The Republic Steel Corporation is urging its stockholders to go to the polls Nov. 2, and to engage in political party work to encourage others to do so. In a current letter to shareholders, Charles M. White, president, and Tom M. Girdler, chairman of the board, say: "It is of particular importance that the millions of men and women who own shares in American business and industry speak with a louder voice in the political affairs of the nation, for private ownership of business is a key

issue in the world today. Indifference can cost prosperity, and even freedom." Declaring that "the outcome of this election will be of great importance," the letter urges stockholders to contact their election boards, "check up on every member" of their families, and to "spread word of (your) party's stand on critical issues."

Labor. Merger between CIO and AFL apparently moved one step closer Oct. 15, when a joint unity committee issued a statement declaring heads of both unions have agreed to "create a single trade union center in America through the process of merger, which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union." Presidents George Meany of AFL and Walter Reuther of CIO said special ratifying conventions may be called within a matter of months, followed by a joint AFL-CIO convention to complete details of the merger. In the meantime, a special "joint subcommittee" was authorized to draft a "detailed" merger plan.

Public Power. Gwilym A. Price, president of Westinghouse Electric Corp. Oct. 21 said "for 20 years, during which the broad-scale development of federally operated electric power has been a basic policy, investor-owned utilities have borne the brunt of federal encroachment." Speaking at a luncheon commemorating the invention of the electric light, Price added: "Now there has been a reversal of that policy. The fight against government intervention is not won, however, for that is a fight that never ends and is never won."

Small Business. A quick death for the Small Business Administration was asked Oct. 18 by George Champion, senior vice president of Chase National Bank. In a speech before the annual meeting of the National Bank Division of the American Bankers Association, Champion said: "In my judgment we do not need the SBA, nor do we need its guarantees. Yet we cannot talk this agency to death. We must kill it by deeds -- by meeting our full responsibilities to small business... The facts clearly show there is no real justification for SBA. If a credit risk of a small business is unsound, it is not proper to saddle the taxpayers with it."

Townsend Plan. Officers of the Townsend movement Oct. 23 urged in their official publication, Townsend National Weekly, that all Townsends vote in the November elections. The special pre-election issue contained statements from Dr. Francis E. Townsend, president; John Doyle Elliot, economic consultant, and Mrs. J. A. Ford, director of the group's Washington legislative bureau. A list of recommended candidates from every state and voting records of Congressmen on selected issues were included. Members were urged to "ignore party labels" and "vote for the individuals solely on the basis of merit."

Realtors. Ronald J. Chinnock, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards urged Oct. 11 realtors to "get out the vote by persuading our associates and families and friends that they should cast their votes on election day..." Writing an editorial in Headlines, the official newsletter of the group, Chinnock suggested that members assist by closing offices "for half a day and asking our associates and employees to help..."



### EISENHOWER'S ACTIVITIES

President Eisenhower Oct. 28 appealed for election of a Republican Congress to "keep our government from political fiddling while the world burns." The President, speaking before a National Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee dinner, said "confusion can be avoided and steady progress assured only by electing a Republican majority to Congress." He said the government would "wind up in a hopeless jam" if his Administration is given a Democratic Congress. History, he said, shows legislative leaders "can bottle up program after program" if they are of a different political party than the President.

President Eisenhower on Oct. 29 made a flying one-day campaign trip to Cleveland, Detroit, Louisville and Wilmington. GOP candidates from Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Delaware and neighboring states were invited to rallies at each of the four cities.

U.S. unemployment totals dropped by 400,000 -- from 3.1 million to 2.7 million -- in the past month, the President announced Oct. 25. The President announced the figures in a Washington speech dealing with the "pocket-book" issues of the Congressional campaign -- unemployment, taxes, wages and inflation. Mr. Eisenhower said the economic picture was marred by some unemployment that "exists as the aftermath of war and inflation." This, he said, "is a matter of deep concern to all of us when people, looking for work, cannot find it... It is not only in the interests of the jobless workmen but for the benefit of all, that the problem be solved."

### MITCHELL ON EMPLOYMENT

Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell Oct. 26 underscored the President's claim that unemployment has dropped. But Mitchell added: "We think the unemployment we have today is still too much and we are doing all we can to reduce it."

Mitchell said worker "take-home pay" was higher in September than in the same month of any other post-war year. The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics said Oct. 26 its consumer price index had dipped to 114.7 per cent of the 1947-49 average, down four-tenths of one per cent from a year ago, and six-tenths of one per cent below the October, 1953 record of 115.4.

A joint statement issued Oct. 27 by the AFL and CIO contended a recession is still on, and accused the Eisenhower Administration of painting "a rosy but inaccurate" pre-election economic picture. "It is indeed a sorry day for the workers of America when we see the head of that (Labor) Department, a member of the President's cabinet, deliberately prostituting his office in an attempt to influence the workers' vote by such cheap and tawdry methods as Secretary Mitchell used..."

### NIXON ATTACK

Vice President Richard M. Nixon declared Oct. 22 he has evidence that Communists are attempting to infiltrate the Democratic Party in an effort to promote their own interests. Nixon said he possesses a "secret memorandum" to California Communist Party leaders, directing them "to fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party."

The Americans for Democratic Action Oct. 22 accused Nixon of "trying to make a phony political issue of the serious business of fighting communism here and abroad." Nixon has referred in speeches to "the ADA left-wing clique." Nixon said Oct. 23 the Communist Party is fighting desperately for election of an anti-Eisenhower Congress because many Democratic candidates belong to a "left-wing clique" in their party which has "tolerated" the Red conspiracy.

### MCCARTHY'S ELECTION STAND

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.), in a letter made public Oct. 28, said Republicans should forget their differences, "close ranks" and "concentrate on the election of a Republican Congress." The statement was made in a letter to William Randolph Hearst, Jr., publisher of a New York City newspaper. Hearst had asked McCarthy about speculation that thousands of voters would stay away from the polls Nov. 2 or back Democrats as a result of some GOP leaders' attitudes toward McCarthy's methods of investigating communism in government. "The election of a Republican House and Senate is a far better way to fight communism," McCarthy said, "than to turn the control of the Congress over to the Party, which... has neglected in the past to protect the interests of the people."

### STEVENSON STRIKES BACK

Adlai E. Stevenson charged Oct. 22 that Vice President Richard M. Nixon had "repudiated" President Eisenhower on the issue of the Administration record in the 1954 Congressional campaign. "It looks as though the Great Crusade under the leadership of Snow White is going to end up this critical Congressional campaign on the elevated note of subversion, perversion and denunciation of former President Truman," Stevenson said. "I suppose that's what they call McCarthyism in a white collar."

On Oct. 26, Stevenson described the GOP "old guard" as "Republican primitives" engaged in "blocking, tackling and tripping the Administration every step of the way." In another Oct. 26 speech, he said the Eisenhower Administration has demonstrated "mismanagement amounting to genius" abroad and "vigorous consistency in transferring from the many to the few" at home.

## DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM

Senate Minority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Tex.) announced Oct. 27 a seven-plank program for the next Congress, and a plan to start work on it in the special session which begins Nov. 8. The program:

- (1) A foreign policy "with a single voice for all America -- the President's."
- (2) A "most thorough ventilation of the Dixon-Yates deal." (For details on the Dixon-Yates proposal, see CQ Weekly Report, p. 1260.)
- (3) Launching of a "gigantic development program of our natural resources including huge reclamation and conservation projects in the West" to provide water for expansion of Western industry and population.
- (4) Full support for President Eisenhower and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to provide an adequate defense against all would-be aggressors.
- (5) A revised and improved farm program insuring the farmer and rancher a greater share in the total national income.
- (6) Modification and improvement of labor standards giving "both employee and employer the dignity to which they are entitled."
- (7) Permitting the "fullest utilization of all the great facilities of free and private enterprise without permitting a payoff to a shirt-tail full of campaign contributors."

In an Oct. 25 telegram to ex-Sen. and ex-Rep. Hugh B. Mitchell (D Wash.), House Democratic Whip John W. McCormack (D Mass.) said that in the event a Democratic Congress was elected, House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn (D Tex.) and he would see that a federal employees' pay raise bill was introduced immediately and brought to a speedy House floor vote.

## STATE ROUNDUP

**CALIFORNIA:** State Democrats are plugging two new campaign issues: The alleged split within the Republican state organization over the proposed purchase of the Central Valley Project from the federal government which Vice President Richard M. Nixon favors and Gov. Goodwin J. Knight (R) opposes; and the "smog" situation in the Los Angeles area. The GOP state administration has been criticized for failing to combat the smog. The state's liquor regulation system also has come under attack by the Democrats. (See California campaign, CQ Weekly Report, p. 1284.)

**COLORADO:** The Colorado Anti-Communist League has published in state newspapers an advertisement headed: "How Red is John Carroll?" The ad tells of support Carroll received in 1946 from alleged Communist and left-wing groups, and cites instances where Carroll's votes paralleled those of the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP N.Y.) Carroll is a former Democratic Representative from Denver who now is running for the Senate. He said the ad is a "smear" and a "distortion" of the facts.

**FLORIDA:** J. Tom Watson, 68, Republican nominee for governor, died Oct. 24 in Tampa of a heart ailment. No successor will be named. Gen. James A. Van Fleet, a native of Florida, said Oct. 25 that he was not a candi-

date and urged Floridians to support the state's Democratic nominees for governor and Congressmen. LeRoy Collins (D) automatically becomes the state's next governor.

**NEW YORK:** State GOP leaders Oct. 27 challenged Averell Harriman's right to be the Democratic gubernatorial nominee because in 1952 he voted in the "unofficial" Democratic Presidential preference primary in Washington, D.C. The New York constitution says a candidate for governor must have resided in the state for five years preceding his election. On Oct. 22-23, Republicans accused Harriman of being involved in a Polish mines transaction in the 1920's in which American investors allegedly lost \$5 million, and with being a "union buster" in 1947 at his Orange County, N.Y., dairy. Harriman replied that voting in Washington did not affect his New York residence, and said that the Polish mines transaction was sound. The union involved in the dairy dispute said it has endorsed Harriman's candidacy.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Dean J. Lewis, Republican candidate for governor, charged Oct. 22 that the administration of Gov. Dennis Roberts (D) is "completely unfit to continue to govern our state" because of its handling of an insurance company failure in 1950. Roberts characterized the accusation as "gutter politics" and "deliberate falsehood."

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** Gov. James F. Byrnes (D) Oct. 23 endorsed the write-in Senate candidacy of ex-Gov. Strom Thurmond (D) against State Sen. Edgar A. Brown (D), who is running with the endorsement of the Democratic State Executive Committee, which nominated him for the seat of the late Sen. Burnet R. Maybank (D). (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1258.) Thurmond already had the support of several Democratic county committees.

**UTAH:** Dr. Henry A. Dixon, chosen to replace Rep. Douglas R. Stringfellow (R) as the GOP nominee in Utah's First Congressional District, Oct. 25 received the "unqualified support" of the National Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1302.)

**WYOMING:** Self-styled "Outraged Wyoming Citizens" supporting the Senate candidacy of Rep. William H. Harrison (R) against that of ex-Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D) are publicly labeling O'Mahoney "Foreign Agent 783" and the "hired attorney" of Far Eastern Specialist Owen Lattimore, who was re-indicted Oct. 7 on charges that he falsely denied having promoted Communist interests. O'Mahoney, a Washington lawyer-lobbyist since his 1952 defeat by Sen. Frank A. Barrett (R), is listed (No. 783) on the Justice Department's roll of authorized agents for foreign interests by virtue of his work for the United States-Cuban Sugar Council. He is also counsel of record for Owen Lattimore. (For descriptions of Foreign Agents Registration Act, see CQ Weekly Report, pp. 377ff.)

**NEW JERSEY:** The Committee for a Stronger New Jersey Republican Party has distributed 50,000 stickers for use in the write-in campaign of former Rep. Fred A. Hartley (R) for U.S. Senator. Major aim of the organization is the defeat of ex-Rep. Clifford P. Case (R), regular GOP candidate for Senator.

## 73 File Preliminary Reports

### SENATE CANDIDATES HAVE SPENT \$342,128

Seventy-three Senatorial candidates have reported campaign expenditures of \$342,128.53. The 40 Democrats who reported have spent \$183,359.30; the 32 reporting Republicans, \$156,469.23. The only independent who reported said he spent \$2,300. The candidates reported contributions of \$497,124.78, of which Democrats received \$278,236.10, Republicans \$218,888.68.

Reports cover the general election, not primary, campaigns. They are reports filed by candidates; in some cases, organizations working for a candidate have filed or will file separate state or federal reports.

Except for Maine candidates, reports are the preliminary statements which candidates are required by law to file with the Secretary of the Senate between 10 and 15 days before the election. (See box in adjoining column for "Filing Requirements.") The list (names of incumbents capitalized):

	Expenditures	Contributions
<b>ALABAMA</b>		
J. Foy Guin, Jr. (R)	\$ 52.10	\$ 52.90
JOHN SPARKMAN (D)	0	0
<b>ARKANSAS</b>		
JOHN L. McCLELLAN (D)	37.50	0
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>		
THOMAS H. KUCHEL (R)	7,400.00	7,400.00
Samuel W. Yorty (D)	5,027.54	\$16,617.50
<b>COLORADO</b>		
Gordon Allott (R)	4,911.90	6,485.02
John A. Carroll (D)	8,581.39	6,503.00
<b>DELAWARE</b>		
Herbert B. Warburton (R)	2,276.99	5,910.00
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR. (D)	4,041.67	0
<b>GEORGIA</b>		
RICHARD B. RUSSELL (D)	0	0
<b>IDAHO</b>		
HENRY C. DWORSHAK (R)	4,519.60	5,000.00
Glen H. Taylor (D)	3,359.00	4,740.00
<b>ILLINOIS</b>		
Joseph T. Meek (R)	25,787.79	27,042.99
PAUL H. DOUGLAS (D)	15,258.44	26,019.00
<b>IOWA</b>		
Thomas E. Martin (R)	5,522.98	3,220.00
GUY M. GILLETTE (D)	7,478.43	23,649.25
<b>KANSAS</b>		
ANDREW F. SCHOEPPPEL (R)	5,031.66	5,720.00
George McGill (D)	3,430.94	4,151.50
<b>KENTUCKY</b>		
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER (R)	8,201.10	9,585.00
Alben W. Barkley (D)*	17,590.90	40,890.00
<b>LOUISIANA</b>		
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, SR. (D)	0	0
<b>MAINE****</b>		
MARGARET CHASE SMITH (R)	0	3,000.00
	0	2,000.00
Paul Fullam (D)	2,850.37	1,861.00
	0	0
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>		
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (R)**	0	0
Foster Furcolo (D)	7,925.00	9,675.00
<b>MICHIGAN</b>		
HOMER FERGUSON (R)	15,367.72	17,048.75
Patrick V. McNamara (D)	22,666.21	33,451.66
<b>MINNESOTA</b>		
Val Bjornson (R)	1,244.15	1,600.00
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D)	1,999.00	2,201.75
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>		
James White (R)	(No Report received 10/27/54)	
JAMES O. EASTLAND (D)	0	0
<b>MONTANA</b>		
Wesley A. D'Ewart (R)	5,322.00	5,266.00
JAMES E. MURRAY (D)	0	0

### Filing Requirements

The Federal Corrupt Practices Act requires all candidates for Senator to file two campaign reports with the Secretary of the Senate. Pre-election reports, covered in this tabulation by CQ, are due between 10 and 15 days before the election. Post-election reports are due within 30 days after the election.

Non-candidates, such as national organizations, their subsidiaries and campaign committees operating in more than one state, must report to the Clerk of the House. Reports of contributions and expenditures by such groups are included in this tabulation only when candidates attached them to their own statements.

Reports cover finances of general election campaigns only, not of primary campaigns.

Reports must contain itemized accounts of each contribution and expenditure handled by or in behalf of candidates. CQ extracted, from the candidates' reports, the major individual contributions listed on page 1323.

Ceilings on a candidate's expenditures range from \$10,000 to \$25,000 -- unless his state establishes a lower limit -- depending on the number of votes cast in the last general election for the office he seeks.

Certain expenditures -- for such items as travel, subsistence, telegraph, telephone, stationery, and postage -- are exempt from legal ceilings and need not be reported. Nevertheless, some candidates report exempt expenditures, which helps explain why some of them appear to have exceeded ceilings. Other explanations include variations in reporting methods and errors or oversights in drafting reports. No conclusions should be drawn as to apparent violations on the basis of this tabulation.

No reports had been received, as of Oct. 27, from Richard L. Neuberger (D Ore.) and James White (R Miss.). J. Mark Trice, secretary of the Senate, said he probably would wire reminders to Neuberger and White if their reports were not received in the Oct. 28 mail.

Spending and contributions figures are not definitive even when they are accurate, since indirect financing of campaigns may not be reported. Post-election reports will increase totals for many candidates.

	Expenditures	Contributions
<b>NEBRASKA</b>		
Carl T. Curtis (R)	\$ 70.00	\$11,010.00
Keith Neville (D)	16,709.75	2,975.00
Roman L. Hruska (R)	5,419.16	7,650.00
James F. Green (D)	6,082.35	6,945.00
Hazel Abel (R)	0	0
William H. Meier (D)	366.92	66.00
<b>NEVADA</b>		
ERNEST S. BROWN (R)	8,405.58	8,475.00
Alan Bible (D)	5,415.78	9,625.00
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>		
STYLES BRIDGES (R)	276.77	7,505.00
Gerard L. Morin (D)	2,012.25	1,698.52
Stanley J. Betley (D)	0	0
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>		
Clifford P. Case (R)	30,181.98***	32,072.52
Charles R. Howell (D)	24,856.47	27,820.00
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>		
Edwin L. Mechem (R)	7,925.00	3,650.00
CLINTON P. ANDERSON (D)	1,287.83	0**
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>		
Paul C. West (R)	458.40	220.00
W. Kerr Scott (D)	50.00	0
SAM J. ERVIN, JR. (D)	100.00	0
<b>OHIO</b>		
George H. Bender (R)	5,000.00	5,000.00
THOMAS A. BURKE (D)	1,475.00	1,475.00



	Expenditures	Contributions
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>		
Fred Mock (R)	\$ 4,081.68	\$ 4,161.00
ROBERT S. KERR (D)	0	0
<b>OREGON</b>		
GUY CORDON (R)**	0	0
Richard L. Neuberger (D)	(No Report received 10/27/54)	
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>		
Walter I. Sundlun (R)	218.81	4,400.00
THEODORE F. GREEN (D)	5,255.50	325.00
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>		
Edgar A. Brown (D)	2,640.00	390.00
Strom Thurmond (D)	3,888.53	9,345.59
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>		
KARL E. MUNDT (R)	3,396.37	18,139.50*
Kenneth Holum (D)	556.00	3,980.00
<b>TENNESSEE</b>		
Thomas P. Wall, Jr. (R)	2,472.49	2,500.00
ESTES KEFAUVER (D)	1,071.88	4,070.00
<b>TEXAS</b>		
Carlos Watson (R)	0	0
LYNDON B. JOHNSON (D)	0	0
<b>VIRGINIA</b>		
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON (D)	0	0
Clarke T. Robb (D)	9.00	7.00
Charles W. Lewis, Jr.	2,300.00	0
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>		
Thomas B. Sweeney (R)	1,200.00	4,500.00
MATTHEW M. NEELY (D)	2,788.80	15,166.00*
<b>WYOMING</b>		
William H. Harrison (R)	2,500.00	2,500.00
Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D)*	8,546.85	24,588.33

### Footnotes

\*Candidate's report included report by campaign committee. CQ added sums attributed to committee to the candidate's total. In Barkley's case, part of the committee's sum probably was devoted to other candidates' campaigns.

\*\*Candidate reported that committees or clubs handled his campaign finances.

\*\*\*Expenditure total included \$11,284.43 in exempt expenditures which need not have been reported. CQ included these expenditures because other candidates apparently reported exempt items without segregation.

\*\*\*\*Maine's election was held Sept. 13. Pre-election reports are listed first, post-election reports second.

### Big Contributions

Listed below are contributions of \$5,000 or more from individual donors, as reported by Senate candidates.

Candidate	Contributor	Amount
Allott (R Colo.)	National Republican Senatorial Committee	\$ 5,000
Barkley (D Ky.)*	Kentucky Democratic Central Committee	30,000
Bender (R Ohio)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Bible (D Nev.)	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee	5,000
Bridges (R N.H.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Brown (R Nev.)	Republican National Committee	5,000
Carroll (D Colo.)	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	5,000
Curtis (R Neb.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
D'Ewart (R Mont.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Douglas (D Ill.)	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	5,100
Dworshak (R Idaho)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Ferguson (R Mich.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
	Wayne County GOP Finance Committee	** 10,000
Gillette (D Iowa)	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	5,000
	Consolidated League for Political Education	5,000
	"500 workers" through Solidarity House	5,000
	Democratic National Committee	5,000
Howell (D N.J.)	CIO Political Action Comm.	5,000
	Robert S. Conohay III	5,000

Candidate	Contributor	Amount
Kuchel (R Calif.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	\$ 5,000
McNamara (D Mich.)	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	5,000
	CIO-PAC	10,000
	Labor's League for Political Education	9,650
Meek (R Ill.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Mundt (R S.D.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Neely (D W. Va.)***	500 Detroit United Auto Workers (CIO) members, through Hugh Alexander	5,000
O'Mahoney (D Wyo.)***	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	9,550
Schoepfel (R Kan.)	Natl. GOP Sen. Comm.	5,000
Yorty (D Calif.)	Dem. Sen. Camp. Comm.	9,000
	CIO-PAC	5,000

\*Contributed to Kentucky Democratic Campaign Committee, which participated in Kentucky House races as well as Barkley's contest.

\*\*Listed as "advances." Law requires reports on advances and loans, as well as contributions.

\*\*\*Received by campaign committee.

### Party Donors

Contributions in sums of \$500 or more by the four main official party sources of campaign funds, as reported by Senate candidates:

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE TO:			
Allott (Colo.)	\$5,000	Hruska (Neb.)	\$4,500
Bender (Ohio)	5,000	Kuchel (Calif.)	5,000
Bridges (N.H.)	5,000	Martin (Iowa)	1,000
Case (N.J.)	3,500	Meek (Ill.)	5,000
Cooper (Ky.)	4,250	Mundt (S.D.)	5,000
Cotton (N.H.)	3,500	Schoepfel (Kan.)	5,000
Curtis (Neb.)	5,000	Smith (Maine)	5,000
D'Ewart (Mont.)	5,000	Sweeney (W. Va.)	4,500
Dworshak (Idaho)	5,000	Sundlun (R.I.)	3,500
Ferguson (Mich.)	5,000	Wall (Tenn.)	2,500
Harrison (Wyo.)	2,500	TOTAL	\$89,750

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO:	
Brown (Nev.)	\$5,000

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE TO:			
Barkley (Ky.)	\$1,500	Howell (N.J.)	\$ 2,500
Bible (Nev.)	5,000	Kefauver (Tenn.)	2,500
Carroll (Colo.)	5,000	McNamara (Mich.)	5,000
Douglas (Ill.)	5,100	O'Mahoney (Wyo.)	9,550
Gillette (Iowa)	5,000	Taylor (Idaho)	3,000
Holum (S.D.)	2,500	Yorty (Calif.)	9,000
		TOTAL	\$55,650

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO:			
Gillette (Iowa)	\$5,000	Neely (W. Va.)	\$ 1,000
Green (Neb.)	2,500	Neville (Neb.)	2,500
		TOTAL	\$11,000

### Labor Donors

#### CIO-PAC and Subsidiaries

Fullam (D Maine)	\$ 1,000	O'Mahoney (D Wyo.)	\$ 4,500
Howell (D N.J.)	9,000	Yorty (D Calif.)	5,000
McNamara (D Mich.)	10,000		
Neely (D W. Va.)	11,500	TOTAL	\$41,000

#### Labor's League for Political Education (AFL)

Douglas (D Ill.)	\$ 3,500	McNamara	\$ 9,650
Gillette (D Iowa)	5,000	TOTAL	\$18,150

#### Machinists (AFL) Non-Partisan League

Douglas (D Ill.)	\$ 2,000	O'Mahoney (D Wyo.)	\$ 1,000
Howell (D N.J.)	1,000	Yorty (D Calif.)	500
		TOTAL	\$ 4,500





## the executive branch

### HEALTH REINSURANCE

President Eisenhower Oct. 21 announced he would resubmit his health reinsurance plan to the 84th Congress. The President called the program, under which the government would underwrite expanded health insurance programs of private firms, "the logical alternative to socialized medicine." The 83rd Congress shelved the President's program July 13. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 910).

Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Oct. 21 told newsmen the health reinsurance program to be submitted in January would be "better" than the one rejected in 1954.

### UNION WELFARE FUNDS

President Eisenhower Oct. 26 gave the Senate Labor Committee power to inspect tax returns in connection with its investigation of union welfare and pension funds. The executive order covered income, excess-profits, capital stock, estate and gift tax returns for 1947-53. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1194.)

### RECESS APPOINTMENTS

President Eisenhower Oct. 23 announced he was naming Dr. John von Neumann of Princeton, N.J., to serve, by recess appointment, as member of the Atomic Energy Commission. von Neumann succeeds Eugene M. Zuckert, who left the Commission when his term expired June 30.

The President also appointed Kenneth V. Harvey of the District of Columbia to be a member of the Clemency and Parole Board for War Criminals. He replaces Daniel M. Lyons, retired.

### HOUSING PROBE

In a letter to Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), President Eisenhower said Oct. 23 that 21 Federal Housing Administration officials hired before 1953 had been fired as a result of irregularities in the housing program. The President also said Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has obtained 200 indictments in connection with the housing probe, and added "it is expected that many additional indictments will result." Capehart is head of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, which held hearings on abuses in FHA programs. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1277.)

Albert M. Cole, head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, said Oct. 25 the government would take legal action to recover almost \$7 million in "windfall" profits allegedly reaped by promoters of five FHA-insured rental housing projects in New York, Delaware, Ohio, Texas and California.

Clyde L. Powell, ousted FHA official, was sentenced Oct. 29 to a year in jail for criminal contempt of court. Judge F. Dickinson Letts said Powell had "wilfully" disobeyed his order to answer questions asked by a federal grand jury probing housing scandals.

### PARIS AGREEMENTS

At an unprecedented nationally televised Cabinet meeting Oct. 25, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, reporting on the Paris agreements to rearm West Germany and bring that nation into the European defense system said:

### Eisenhower Meets Press

President Eisenhower Oct. 27 told his 50th White House news conference he hopes the American people are going to elect a Republican Congress, but that he was not going to predict the outcome of next Tuesday's balloting.

The President also:

Said the U.S. now has better reason to hope for world peace than it has had in recent years.

Defended a White House memorandum outlining ways in which Republican Congressmen and party officials could be consulted about applicants for federal positions.

Defended the proposed Dixon-Yates contract for supplying private power for the Tennessee Valley Authority to replace TVA power used by atomic energy plants.

Said that he would not consider the election of a Democratic Congress as a vote of no-confidence.

Stated that whenever this government has reason to believe the Russians are sincere about wanting to build an enduring world peace, the U.S. will be ready to confer at any time.

Stated his belief that it is good practice to fill U.S. Supreme Court openings with men who have had prior experience in lower courts.

"The importance of events" which culminated in Paris Oct. 23 "justifies their immediate consideration by the American nation." (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1316.)

U.S. agreement to "bear a fair share of its burden of defense of Europe," and British agreement to "commit four British divisions...plus a tactical air force" to defend Europe "led to a very immediate response" and broke the deadlock over Germany.

"I don't believe the Soviet Union is going to break it (Western European defense alliance) up."

After the new agreements have been ratified "there may be a new basis for discussion" with the Soviet Union.

### FARM OUTLOOK

The annual Agricultural Outlook Conference opened Oct. 25 in Washington, with Dr. Earl L. Butz, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, saying the Eisenhower Administration hoped "eventually to get the government out of the food business, or at least substantially to reduce governmental activities in that area." W. G. Lodwick, chief of the Department's Foreign Agriculture Service, said the declining trend in U.S. farm exports had been reversed, and that there "should be" a 10 per cent increase in 1954-55. F. V. Waugh, director of the Department's economics division, Oct. 26, said: "It may well be that for high employment conditions in a peace-time economy, the sort of (farm) price situation we have is not particularly abnormal."

An Agriculture Department report said if farm income remains near present levels, most farmers may be able to "maintain their financial positions pretty well, despite the cost-price squeeze and any need for adjusting their production programs."



## committee roundup

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### Action

#### INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION

Committee. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Action. Made public Oct. 24 testimony given in closed hearings July 6-7 and Aug. 5-6 on interlocking subversion in government departments, with particular reference to the Army's Information and Education Program.

In a statement accompanying the transcript, Sen. William E. Jenner (R Ind.), Chairman of the unit, said testimony had shown "American soldiers of World War II were taught the Communist line by men wearing the American uniform." He added that the Army's information program "to which every GI was subjected," was "heavily loaded with pro-Soviet propaganda and staffed in many instances by men with Communist records."

Jenner said "the chief of the key program section of the Orientation Branch" of the Information Program, "Lt. Col. Julius Schreiber, was one of those who relied on the Fifth Amendment."

#### TAYLOR CITED

Committee. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Action. Made public Oct. 22 testimony given in a closed session Oct. 14 by former FBI undercover workers Herbert A. Philbrick and Mary S. Markward. Sen. Herman Welker (R Idaho) conducted the closed hearing, sitting as a one-man subcommittee. (See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1305.)

Testimony. Philbrick described the Progressive Party, under whose banner Henry A. Wallace ran for President and former Sen. Glen A. Taylor (D Idaho) for vice president in 1948, as completely controlled by the Communists.

Philbrick said the Progressive Party candidates "were controlled by the Communist criminal conspiracy."

Mrs. Markward said "it came to the point where almost all of the active Communists were active in the Progressive Party."

Related Developments. Oct. 22. Welker arranged for a Congressional hearing before Nov. 2 so Taylor, who is campaigning for the seat held by Sen. Henry C. Dworshak (R Idaho), would have "an opportunity to deny under oath" that he knowingly accepted Communist support. Taylor had demanded that he be subpoenaed by the Subcommittee and his testimony made public.

Oct. 26. Welker announced that the hearing would not be held after all. He said "Taylor has had nothing to say." But in Idaho, Taylor told newsmen he had been "waiting to hear from him (Welker) about when the hearing was to be held."

#### CLARK TESTIMONY

Committee. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Action. Made public Oct. 27 testimony given in a closed session Aug. 10 by Gen. Mark W. Clark.

Sen. William E. Jenner (R Ind.), Chairman, said Clark's reported experiences "show very clearly that an attitude of appeasement -- or worse -- in Washington nullified our military achievements in Europe and robbed us of victory in Korea."

#### ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

Committee. Select House Committee Investigating Campaign Expenditures.

Action. Oct. 28 ordered an investigation of complaints of election irregularities in the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina. The complaints were filed by Ivan O. Harragh, GOP organization director in the district, on behalf of William E. Stevens, Jr.

Stevens is opposing the Democratic incumbent, Rep. Hugh Q. Alexander.

#### COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

Committee. House Committee on Communist Aggression.

Action. Oct. 28 sent a report on Committee hearings with an accompanying letter to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Held hearings in Milwaukee Oct. 21-22.

In the letter to Dulles, Committee chairman Charles K. Kersten (R Wis.) said "the continued military and political occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the USSR is a major cause of the dangerous world tensions which now beset mankind and therefore constitutes a serious threat to the peace." The Committee recommended Dulles ask the United Nations General Assembly to give the matter "urgent attention."

At the Milwaukee hearings Oct. 21, the principal witness was Josef Swiatlo, former secret police official who fled Poland in 1953. It was his first appearance before a Congressional committee. On Oct. 22, Donald Dixon, International News Service reporter who was imprisoned by the Chinese Communists for about 18 months, was among eight witnesses.

Background. See CQ Weekly Report, p. 1306.

#### Hearings

#### POWER CONTRACT

Committee. Senate Judiciary Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee.

Suspended Hearings Oct. 22, after taking testimony from ex-Gov. Sidney McMath (D) of Arkansas on the proposed Dixon-Yates power contract.

Background. See CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1305, 1306.

Related Developments. Oct. 22. Sen. William Langer (R N.D.), Chairman of the Subcommittee, said the Arkansas Power and Light Co. "made a major blunder" in filing suit against a witness who testified about the disputed Dixon-Yates contract.

Oct. 23. Rep. Chet Holifield (D Calif.) said the contract was full of "jokers" and "completely one-sided in favor of the company." He said the Dixon-Yates power group could make profits up to 30 per cent on its investment.

Senate Minority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) promised a "most thorough ventilation" of the contract if the Democrats won control of Congress in the Nov. 2 elections.

Oct. 25. Leland Olds, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, called the Dixon-Yates contract a "perfect symbol" of the "Eisenhower-power trust partnership," and part of the "conspiracy to undermine, disintegrate, and ultimately to take over the TVA."



## around the capitol

### NATIONALISTS SENTENCED

Thirteen Puerto Rican Nationalists convicted of seditious conspiracy against the U.S. were sentenced in New York on Oct. 26 to six years' imprisonment each by U.S. District Judge Lawrence E. Walsh. Four of the Nationalists are already under sentences ranging from 16 to 75 years for wounding five Congressmen in a shooting spree last March 1 in the House of Representatives. (See CQ Weekly Report, pp. 295, 796, 1276.)

### EX-SENATOR DIES

Ex-Sen. Roscoe C. Patterson (R Mo., 1929-31) a sponsor of the Lindbergh Kidnap law, died Oct. 22 at his home in Springfield, Mo. He was 78 years old. Patterson also served as a member in the House of Representatives from 1921-23 and as a U.S. District Attorney from 1924-28.

### CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFS

#### "PREJUDICED" SENATORS?

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) Oct. 6 accused Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah), Chairman of the Senate Censure Committee, and two other members of the Committee of "prejudice" toward him "before" they were selected to serve on that Committee. McCarthy did not name the other two Senators. In a letter to Watkins McCarthy said: "This would appear to be a deliberate deception of the vice president and a fraud upon the Senate..." Watkins said he had not received McCarthy's letter and added: "I'll acknowledge receipt of his letter as soon as I receive it." (See CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1113, 1241, 1326.)

#### MCCARTHY PREDICTS CENSURE

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) Oct. 29 predicted the Senate will vote to censure him at its session beginning Nov. 8, because, he said, "very few" members will consider the evidence with an open mind. "I am not going to defend myself before the Senate," McCarthy said, but added that he will speak at length on each censure count "to make a record so the American people will know what the Senate is doing."

### REDS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Committee. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Resumed hearings Oct. 28 on Communist infiltration in labor organizations and industrial plants of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Testimony. Ralph K. Heltzinger, a West Reading, Pa. bakery driver, listed 72 persons he said he had known as Communists while he was an FBI informant within the Party. Heltzinger said he joined the Communist Party, at the request of the FBI, in 1944.

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Committee. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Held hearings Oct. 27-28 in Chicago on the problems of juvenile delinquency and "black market in babies." Subcommittee Chairman Robert C. Hendrickson (R N.J.) said a preliminary inquiry showed conditions in Chicago ranging from "quite serious" to "shocking."

### SEN. WATKINS INVITED

Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah) was asked Oct. 23 by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) to appear before his Permanent Investigations Subcommittee and tell who was "culpable" in the case of Maj. Irving Peress. Watkins is Chairman of a Select Senate Committee that unanimously recommended that McCarthy be censured by the Senate. The Committee's report, McCarthy said, indicates that Watkins "must have some information as to who was culpable" in the promotion and honorable discharge of Peress. McCarthy asked Watkins to testify sometime prior to Nov. 8, but in his reply Watkins said he could not appear before Nov. 8, "but will be glad to appear at any mutually convenient time after said date." McCarthy also made public Oct. 27 a letter to Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens, requesting a full report on the promotion and discharge of Peress. (For details on the Army-McCarthy dispute see CQ Weekly Report, p. 1141.)

### RUSSIAN TOURS

Rep. O. C. Fisher (D Tex.), returning from a 17-day visit to Soviet Russia, said Oct. 25 there is no doubt the prospect of West German rearmament "is having a sobering and deterring effect" on the Kremlin. Rep. Laurie C. Battle (D Ala.), who accompanied Fisher said: "Moscow's controlled radio broadcasts and the newspapers contained, it seemed to us, a frantic tone over Germany's rearmament and her admission to NATO." Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), who is also touring Russia, said Oct. 26 in Moscow she had talked with Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, but declined to give details of their conversation. On arriving in Helsinki, Finland, Oct. 28, she said she "would not be surprised" if relations between the U.S. and Russia were "broken off at any time by either side." She declined to elaborate.

### SMALL BUSINESS

Sen. Edward J. Thye (R Minn.) said Oct. 27 he would offer legislation next year to continue in existence the Small Business Administration. Thye, Chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, said the SBA has made a "splendid record" in its 15 months of existence.



## congressional quiz

1. Q--If a federal office holder were elected to Congress, could he still keep his federal job?

A--The U.S. Constitution stipulates that "no person holding any office under the United States shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in office." The Constitution also requires that no Senator or Representative "shall during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States."

2. Q--What states send the most Representatives to Congress?

A--Each state has two Senators, but the large-population states of New York, Pennsylvania, California and Illinois have the biggest House delegations. In the 83rd Congress, New York had 27 Republicans and 16 Democrats serving in the House. Pennsylvania and California each had 19 Republicans and 11 Democrats in the House. Illinois had 16 Republicans and nine Democrats.

3. Q--When will the 84th Congress meet?

A--It is scheduled to convene at noon, Wednesday, Jan. 5, 1955. The 20th Amendment to the Constitution prescribes that Congress convene "at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day." The Jan. 5 date was designated in a joint resolution adopted before the lawmakers went home in August.

4. Q--Why do some states have Congressmen "at-large"?

A--Delaware, Nevada, Vermont and Wyoming are so lightly populated that they are entitled to only one Representative. The Congressman is elected at-large and represents the entire state rather than a single District. In more heavily populated states, a Member may be chosen at large when a state is entitled to increased representation, if the state legislature doesn't want to disturb existing District boundaries by reapportioning the state.

5. Q--Why didn't New York hold an election to replace Sen. Ives, since he decided to run for governor?

A--The Senate term of Irving M. Ives (R N.Y.) does not expire until January, 1959, and the law did not require him to resign in order to make the race for governor.

6. Q--Why is the 20th Amendment to the Constitution called the "Lame Duck Amendment"?

A--Until 1933, when the 20th Amendment became effective, a Congress elected in November did not meet (unless a special session was called) until 13 months later. Meanwhile the old Congress included many so-called "lame duck" Members who had failed to be re-elected but who sat from the start of a session in December until the close of the session in March. The 20th Amendment fixed the term of a Congress elected in November to begin the following January.

7. Q--Is Alben Barkley the oldest candidate for election to the Senate this year?

A--No. Ex-Sen. Alben W. Barkley (D Ky.), a former Vice President who seeks to return to the Senate, is 77 years old. However, three other Senatorial candidates -- all Democrats -- are older. Sens. Theodore Francis Green (R.I.) is 87; Matthew M. Neely (W Va.) is 80, James E. Murray (Mont.) is 78. Three other upper chamber candidates are 70 or over. They are Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D Iowa.), 75; Ex-Sen. George McGill (D Kan.), 75; and Ex-Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.), 70. Oldest Republican candidate for the Senate is Mrs. George Abel (Neb.). She is 66.

8. Q--In my state -- Ohio -- the governor is of a different political party from one of the Senators. Are there similar situations in many other states?

A--Yes. Before the Nov. 2 election, in 15 states besides Ohio the governor and one or both Senators were of a different party. These states: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York and Washington.

9. Q--Has a former U.S. Senator been elected to a House seat in recent years?

A--Yes. The late Garrett L. Withers (D Ky.) was elected to the 83rd Congress as a Member of the House. He served Kentucky as Senator from 1949-50. Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D W Va.) served in the Senate, then the House, now is a Senator again.

NOTE: CQ Weekly Report pages on which additional data may be found: (7 and 8) 1295.





## the week in congress

**Windup** The 1954 mid-term election campaign raced to a conclusion, with both Democratic and Republican speakers predicting victory. President Eisenhower appealed for election of another GOP Congress to "keep our government from political fiddling while the world burns," while Vice President Richard M. Nixon claimed Communists are attempting to infiltrate the Democratic Party. Adlai E. Stevenson retorted that "Republican primitives" have hamstrung the Administration, while Senate Minority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Tex.) announced a seven-point program for the Senate next year -- if the upper chamber is controlled by Democrats.

### McCarthy Predicts Censure

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.):

Asked Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah), Chairman of the Committee which recommended that McCarthy be censured, to tell what he knows about the case of Major Irving Peress.

Accused Watkins and two unnamed Senators of "prejudice" in connection with the censure investigation.

Predicted the Senate will vote to censure him when it meets Nov. 8 and said "very few" members will consider the evidence with open minds.

### Foreign Policy Or Politics?

President Eisenhower called his cabinet together before television cameras to hear Secretary of State John Foster Dulles tell about the Paris agreements to rearm West Germany. "The importance of events," said Dulles, "justifies their immediate consideration by the American nation." It was the first time a cabinet meeting was televised,

and Democrats accused the Administration of trying to make political capital out of the long-sought West German settlement. The President merely said, at his news conference, that the U.S. now has better reason to hope for world peace than it has had in recent years. He also praised West German Chancellor Adenauer, who arrived in the U.S. on a state visit, as one of the great statesmen of our times. There was no announcement on whether the Paris agreements would be submitted for ratification when the Senate meets Nov. 8.

### 21 Out, But Powell In

Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.) was informed by a letter from President Eisenhower that 21 Federal Housing Administration officials have been fired as a result of FHA irregularities.

A previously ousted FHA official, Clyde L. Powell, got into trouble with a judge because he refused to answer questions about the housing probe asked by a federal grand jury. The judge sentenced Powell to a year in jail for criminal contempt of court, even though Powell pleaded the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer.

## Behind The Headlines

Will the 84th Congress decide questions of foreign policy in the spirit of bipartisanship, erasing party lines at the water's edge? There's no sure way of telling. If voters give Democrats control of Congress Election Day, they'll launch a fresh experiment. Not since 1947 and 1948 -- when the cold war went into its current deep freeze -- have two parties steered at the same time. But Congressional Quarterly's voting

records yield hints. Foreign policy has continuity; a new Congress seldom faces really new issues in this field. Three of the biggest questions considered by the 83rd Congress will turn up again in the 84th, no matter who wields the

Stories here are summaries of the week's events. For Weekly Report pages with more details, check Contents on the cover.

gavel: Reciprocal trade, Bricker Amendment, and foreign aid. Did bipartisanship reign when the 83rd Congress wrote the prologue to foreign policy debates of the 84th? A CQ analysis of Senate roll calls shows Republicans and Democrats voted together more often than they split along party lines. They agreed on 39 of the 54 roll calls. Judged by that standard, bipartisan foreign policy was functioning in the Senate.